1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

KINSHIP TERMS AND PRINCIPLES OF NOMENCLATURE

601 From all accounts it appears most likely that the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage 582 practices. Among these, the greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage, whereby a man is [591] expected to marry his mother's brother's daughter. A bride goes to live with her husband in his natal household. Informants were unanimously agreed that cross-cousin mating was almost universal until approximately a generation ago. Such marriages are not at all unusual nowadays, but they are no 595 longer as prevalent as formerly. Another important aspect is 587 polygyny, which was once the accepted rule, but has now become the exception. This means that levirate, sororate, sororal polygyny, and wife inheritance have been almost completely given up. Nevertheless, these usages are known to have been widespread and are still reflected in the terminology.

601 If the kinship system is examined from the viewpoint of an 587 adult male (Fig. 2), one finds that he calls his potential mate, the daughter of his mother's brother, *ñuke*. The same term is used to designate mother, and a derivative, *ñukentu*, is applied to mother's sister. In accordance with traditional marriage practices, a grown man might well have been wedded to all three of these persons. This would come about if *ego's* father, through the operation of the sororate or sororal polygyny, had married *ego's* mother and her sister and at death had transmitted them both to *ego* by filial inheritance. Under such circumstances it frequently was the case that a man found himself married to a cross-cousin, a mother,[2] and a mother's sister, all of whom were

[835] [2] Little is known of Araucanian incest regulations. Latcham (1909, p. 360) and Cooper (1946, p. 719) agreed that under filial inheritance a man inherited his father's wives, except for his own mother. Yet both writers (Latcham, *op. cit.*, p. 356, and Cooper, *loc. cit.*) reported that incest of all degrees frequently occurred during drinking bouts.

Latcham (1924, p. 527) argued that the Mapuche once limited descent ties so closely to the matrilineal line that no incest tabus applied to relations between half-brothers and sisters, step-parents and step-children, and fathers and daughters.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

684 When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

836 Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

684 Violation is not considered a crime, but the violater renders himself liable to
[548] pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

847 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

674 Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

628 Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

733 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during
● 835 their feasts the most unbridled licence prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

611 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

574 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same *lov* or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

131 *Lavs.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Lafquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Lelvun-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Iya-piva-mapu*

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

The corporeal forms which they assign to their divinities also indicate that there has been formerly an animal worship, which was possibly only a transition from totemism, and may have originated in some form of ancestor worship. Thus the *Cherruve* are represented as serpents with men's heads, *Meulen* as a lizard, *Nguruvilu* as a wild cat with a serpent's tail, *Huaillipenyi* as a sheep or llama with a calf's head, *Pichuichenyi* as a winged snake, etc., etc. These double-natured or hybrid conceptions probably represent the clans among which intermarriage was most common. For instance, the wild cat clan could marry into the serpent's clan, and *vice versâ*; the new community thus formed would be represented by the *Nguruvilu*.

In the course of time the founder of a family, especially if it became a powerful one, would be regarded as a hero, after which it was but a step to his apotheosis.

The custom of painting the face and body before entering battle may have had some connection with totemism, although the chroniclers have left us no record in this respect, contenting themselves with calling attention to this custom. At present, however, totemism seems to have given place to shamanism, and the earlier customs have fallen into disuse and oblivion.

Incest is common during the drunken orgies, no relationship being respected. Marriage among kindred and within the clan is common, and no prohibition attaches to the killing or eating of special animals, although there are a few such superstitions among the elders.

Shamanistic bodies now exist, although their origins are wrapped in mystery. Such are the *huecuvuyes*, or sorcerers, the *dunguves*, or diviners, and the *machis*, or medicine men. These groups are supposed to have certain powers over the powers of good and evil. But contrary to most shamanistic societies there is very little cohesion among their members, and no organisation, neither do they recognise any head. Their functions are practised independently, much after the system of the followers of our modern professions. They only recognise each other as colleagues, and each is respected only according to his degree of skill in imposing on the multitude. Their influence is not political, and they take no active part in the government of the tribe, save in times of tribal or national peril. They officiate as priests, however, in the few religious ceremonies that take place among the people.

Cannibalism.—At the time of the Spanish invasion the Araucanos were still cannibals, although now it is nearly a century since the last well authenticated case was recorded. This cannibalism was not general, however, and was only practised on prisoners taken in battle. The occasion was made to serve as a national feast. The prisoner was made fast to the trunk of a tree, where he became for long hours the target for the jibes, jeers and taunts of the multitude. When his tormentors had drunk sufficiently, and had worked themselves into a frenzy, he was subjected to a thousand torments, till his captor rushed forward and hacked off a limb or piece of flesh from where he thought proper with a stone

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

once made, was preserved a couple of days or more by igniting a piece of dry trunk of chagual (*Puya coarctata*) at one point and letting it smoulder (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 59). Lighted bundles of *Chusquea* were used as torches (küde).

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Gourds were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and chicha; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, bullock's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, drinking vessels (malwe), and many other objects (cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 229–41); sea shells were earlier used for scraping wood (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 97). Awls were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel adze came into use later (Claude Joseph, 1931, p. 235, fig. 23). Sacks (refüŋ) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehide; small bags of skin (yapaq) for holding parched grain. (Cf. for futher details, Claude Joseph, 1931; other artifacts have been noted passim in preceding sections of the present paper, q. v.; see also infra under Weapons, p. 730.)

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Acquisition of mates.—Beyond general statements such as Molina's (1901, p. 189), that "in marriage they scrupulously avoid the degrees of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on *Mapuche-Huilliche* incest prohibitions. According to Guevara Silva (1929, 1:328, 2:162), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and children of brothers. Incestuous sex relations are reported to have occurred at times on the occasion of drinking sprees. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred one but seemingly was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter ñuke (mother) while she called him poñeñ ("son," w. s.); if he did not marry her, he called her children and they him by sibling terms. A native concept rationalizing the cross-cousin preference was: "So there will not be any discord, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Coña, in Moesbach, 1936, p. 201). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Hallowell (1943, p. 490) by Collió Huaiquillof is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. Sororal polygyny was common, "to avoid quarrels and jealousy" (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 40). Under certain conditions (cf. infra) widows were in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's eldest or other son (except the son's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative.

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with dramatized capture. The prospective groom either personally or through go-betweens entered into negotiations with the father or elder relative

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 sired, as was also the case in the sixteenth century. One respect in which generation is broken is in the use of a mother term for MoBrDa. However, MoBrSo is not called "uncle," and FaSiCh are not equated with SiCh, as they are in the Omaha system.

Bifurcate-merging is seen on the parental generation with Fa and FaBr being identified behaviorally and, occasionally, terminologically through the combination of Fa and FaBr terms. Mo and MoSi are identified behaviorally and terminologically, and FaBrWi is included in this equation through the operation of the levirate and sororal polygyny and the custom whereby brothers marry sisters from another household. MoSiHu is called "FaBr" for like reasons. FaBrWi is called "mother" or a mother derivative, regardless of whether or not she is Ego's MoSi. Even with present-day neolocal residence, [593] Fa and FaBr are generally very intimate, and can be identified by Ego in their socio-psychological roles. By extension, this is also true in regard to their spouses. Cross-uncles and cross-aunts are differentiated from the above group.

Terminologically there has been little change on the grandparental generation since the earliest times. On the first descending generation there has been no change in the treatment of own or of sister's and brother's children, except for the clear establishment of certain terms which seemed to be in competition in previous lists.

The historical terminologies do not afford a base for comparison with the rest of the "nephew" terms. However, there are important diagnostic differences between these and the ones reported by Titiev (1951:39) and Ragulee (1953:343–59). The terms recorded in Diagram 4 do not reflect the generation-breaking pattern found in the Omaha system, except for the above-mentioned descendence in the MoBr line. The logical continuation of this break, however, is not emphasized in the regions studied by the writer, except in and on the fringe of the Choichol region.

The grandchildren terms maintain the generation principle in the descendencies, with the rare exception already noted, and there is a differentiation according to the sex of the person through whom the relationship is figured. Both on the third ascending and third descending generations numbers or "distance prefixes" are used, along with current grandparental and grandchild terms.

582 835 There is a complexity about the incest regulations which reflects the breakdown of the kinship system and the associated sanctioned forms of behavior, rather than nuances inherent in the system itself. The result is a pervading uncertainty regarding permissible sexual and marriage partners outside the most customary practices. Because of the number of seeming contradictions and regional variations, the matter of incest regulations will merely be touched on in this paper.

For one thing, informants agree that marriage with MoBrDa was an almost obligatory practice in the remembered past and according to oral tradition learned in childhood. But marriage with MoBrDa was and is by no means a cut and dried matter, nor do incest regulations play a prominent part in its

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

arrangement. Formerly, Ego and his Fa or FaBr seem to have competed for marriage partners. The forms of marriage in question were MoBrDa and WiBrDa which, in the case of Ego and his Fa or FaBr, involved the same potential mate. This competition was expressed in direct statement, innuendo, and in a number of songs dealing with *kewunkelwi* (i.e. taking *kewu*).

Today discord between families sometimes thwarts one or more of the cross-cousin outlets for marriage. When this situation exists, or when there is exceptional physical distance between the families, Ego tends to marry a "local" girl, who may however be a member of the larger kin group. It is likely that during the turbulent war years cross-cousin marriages often went by the board for similar reasons. The establishment of peaceful conditions permitted the avunculate pattern to strengthen. Apparently it had a florescence during the early decades of the twentieth century, under the reservation system, finally gaining terminological expression in the Chulchul region. Gifford's remarks about the passing to the son of the right to marry WiBrDa seem to be applicable to this situation (see Hallowell 1961:491). The use of a mother term for the daughter of the maternal uncle suggests the former dominance of WiBrDa marriage. As Murdock suggests, in a passage pertinent to this situation (1949:168), a long time was necessary before avunculate rights were instituted by MoBrSo and before this succession was reflected in the kinship nomenclature. However, it seems that the generations of disruptive warfare and desultory, semi-migratory horticultural and herding activities tended to perpetuate an instability in local groupings and kinship alignments which, in turn, deterred the development of the avunculate and other features of strongly institutionalized patri-organization. Once the reservation system introduced a generally peaceful situation and set up the preconditions for sedentary and more intensive agricultural activities, local kin groups were stabilized and increased in size, patrilocality and patrilineality acquired new importance (especially in regard to inheritance of land), and, where this favorable milieu existed, the Omaha pattern seems to have developed.

Titiev pointed out that the former practice of patrilocality, in which large households of kin were not uncommon, has recently given way to neolocal residence. In general, reservation exogamy is maintained and sons often establish separate households near their parental home. The effects of change from virilocal households to neolocal households depends on the proximity of the offsprings to one another and to the parental household, as well as on the amount of contact customarily maintained among them.

Some of the recent changes in residence may be understood only from the point of view of external and internal migration, which have modified the social aggregates. One aspect of external migration bears directly on one of the "basic assumptions" regarding matrilliny, and therefore will be reviewed at this point.

Lanham (1934:82) argued that matrilineal traits endured until the end of the eighteenth century,[1] referring mainly to the naming customs which he associated with totemic clans and matrilineal inheritance. I suggest that

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins are born occasionally in Alepún, Panguipulli, and Collaripe areas; none were known to have been born in Boroa area and its neighboring area of Licán. In Alepún area three pairs were born between 1934 and 1936. 845

According to Cooper's source, one of twins was either drowned or suffocated with mud (1946, p. 733). I doubt that the killing of one twin was institutional, at least not for Alepún and Panguipulli areas. Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians (herbalists and missionaries) in these areas had not heard of it as a custom. In Collaripe area it is being done today. "A year ago, there were two such instances. I was never present when one was killed, but I have been told by those who were that the second-born is throttled to death."

Those present at the birth of twins are frightened. Parents are ashamed of twins—the reason was not ascertained. "Two years ago a family [Alepún] had twins; everybody talked about them. When one died, the family was relieved. The other died about two weeks ago." Twins were reared in their home like other children. They were not credited with extraordinary power. No informant had heard of multiple births, other than twins, among Araucanians.

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

Incest is considered a disgrace. No instance of it between brother and sister having the same mother was known; one between a man and his half-sister was spoken of—both man and woman had the same father, but the mother of each was one of the multiple wives of the father; the mothers were sisters. "That was in my own relationship. The two were much talked about, and much talked to. They finally separated. Later both married other persons, and they are still married to them." 836

No case of incest between mother and son had ever been heard of; several between father and daughter were known. "But that too was a very rare thing among the Mapuche. It is a great disgrace." The informant then related, in subdued tones, two instances in which he knew a Chilean man was father of his (the Chilean's) daughter's child. "A great disgrace!" he again added, and then denounced an Araucanian widower whose daughter ran away from home so as not to have to live as wife with her father.

In some areas it is not uncommon for a child to be born out of wedlock; in others, it is a rare event. Quoting an Araucanian from 848

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

weaned my child slowly, but if it bit me while nursing I gave it a slap, and that ended the nursing." Generally, however, if weaning was an abrupt affair, the child was taken to the house of a relative or neighbor, and left there for three or four days so that the mother would not hear it cry. "It will cry much during the first night, but after that, not very much." When the child is returned to its mother, the mother puts a repellent on her nipples, such as chili or the bitter-tasting ajenjo, or garlic-smelling ajo. Fur repellent was not used. When nursing ends, the milk is pressed from the mother's breast and poured into a brook, the belief being that if it is poured on dry land the mother's breasts will dry and incapacitate her for nursing children yet to be born to her. 862

ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins, but no other multiple births, were known among the Araucanians, and, according to the oldest informants, not even twins were born to them in very early days. "But suddenly there were several sets," said an 80-year-old woman; "and since then one hears of a pair born occasionally." Most informants told of a woman who had given birth to two sets of twins: one set lived, the other died. All four grandparents of the twins were pure Araucanians, a relative insisted. Twins were of either or of both sexes. There was no way of predicting twins before birth. 845

All informants, except an 85-year-old man, agreed that twins were not desired; that people were frightened when they were born; that they were a punishment from God, because "the people had laughed at an animal that had twins or triplets—goats, you know, sometimes have triplets." Women did not want twins because of the work of bringing up two children at the same time. The 85-year-old man said the father liked his twin children and provided for them; he and his wife were visited by persons who congratulated them and said, "What luck you have had to have twins." Parents of twins were not presented with gifts.

One of a pair of twins was not killed—"there is too much love for children in our people ever to kill a child. Old people used to say, however, that if one twin died, the other would also soon die." [847]

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

No information was collected on incest. A child born out of wedlock—spoken of as a "natural" child—was a rare thing formerly. "It [835] 848

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements, 864 it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court- [836] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual [584] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after [512] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous. [595] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani- [231] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their [561] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions 864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge [831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under [831] the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual desire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is [836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ships which constitute incest. Moreover, the age of the individuals concerned is a factor in determining the seriousness of an incestuous relationship. Among young adolescents, for example, an incestuous relationship, while subject to strong censure, does not bring social ostracism. There is, then, a certain flexibility in the supposedly immutable incest barrier.

Aside from the above-mentioned restraints, young people are not closely watched by their parents. When children begin to attend reservation school, their daily contacts with peers are prolonged into late adolescence. In addition to becoming more closely acquainted with other young people from their own reservation, they meet boys and girls from surrounding reservations who might have remained virtual strangers to them otherwise. If they do not attend school, which is increasingly rare today, their association with their peer group might be disrupted at about the age of ten or eleven years, when they begin to take on adult responsibilities in and around the home. This applies more to girls than boys, since the former then become largely housebound. Their interreservational contacts are relatively few until they gain more independence from parental authority, generally not until after adolescence. This situation seems to have been traditional.

Sexual intercourse is often first experienced by boys during early adolescence, while still attending school. For most girls, however, it is said that this experience comes a few years later and usually under the guise of courtship. There are "popular" girls, though, who are known to loiter on the way home from school or at a stream while fetching water or firewood to tryst with boys. Sexual intercourse often occurs at these rendezvous, but it is considered almost wholly experimental and, barring pregnancy, free from compromise. If a boy's parents hear of his involvement in this type of affair, they are not particularly disturbed. He might be admonished as "bad" or "lazy" and told not to waste his time, but he will not be chastized. At that, he might momentarily gain the mock admiration of his older siblings. A girl will be more severely reprimanded and, thereafter, more closely watched. If she persists in sexual indulgence and becomes promiscuous, bringing disgrace on her family, the household will suffer from discord and uneasiness. She might be taken out of school and kept at home, or her parents might send her to a relative who lives some distance away. However, when she marries the matter is resolved, and husbands do not recriminate with wives over past indiscretions.

Actually, there is little promiscuity in the sense of boys and girls

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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836 having a large number of alliances at one time, although adolescent sex relationships are rarely enduring. Prolonged bad weather, which makes outdoor trysting difficult in winter, is often sufficient cause to terminate an affair. Few early romances lead to marriage. When individuals leave school, in late adolescence, their range of contacts diminishes. Sexual activity either becomes concentrated on one lover or drops off sharply. An unmarried man of thirty years has generally not known many women, even though his sexual activity might have been rather intensive during adolescence.

835 836 It is primarily at school that boys make the acquaintance of girls from other reservations to whom they are either unrelated or stand in an affinal relationship in which sexual relations and marriage are not proscribed. Sexual relations between members of the same reservation sometimes take place when no patrilineal ties can be demonstrated. Even so, public sentiment is generally against such affairs, especially if they tend toward marriage. Some adolescent alliances that were brought to my attention were within the proscribed group, but these were in the minority of all cases of premarital liaisons that took place on a sustained basis. The infraction of incest rules by young people is partly a result of their ignorance of the kinship tie and its significance.

835 *Within the patrilineage, sexual relations are avoided and marriage* is not considered. Older people maintain that children eventually learn the rules and, even when young and impetuous, tend to "respect" their close patrilineal relatives, an attitude inculcated in them since childhood. Elders say that an infraction of the rule of incest becomes important when a young man is "foolish" or "stubborn" and persists in his attentions to a closely related girl, even after they are both old enough to accept the moral responsibility of adulthood. Pregnancy brings such a situation to the attention of everyone, and the matter becomes of considerable gravity to the community. Further reference will be made to this in the following section.

836 After finishing school and remaining home to work, one's sexual outlets are more restricted, more opportunistic, and daily rendezvous seldom possible. Meetings continue to be made at fiestas, ceremonies, and in town. Despite Catholic overtones, fiestas are considered essentially secular affairs by the Mapuche. They range in size from large [829] public gatherings to rather small impromptu ones and always feature [873] dancing and drinking. Since older people are generally present and prominent as quasi-chaperones, there is rarely adequate privacy for

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

sixty years over which oral history and genealogies can be compared in detail. Accounts reveal that rather than a lover having been killed at the hands of his sweetheart's irate kinsmen, vengeance was obtained through sorcery and combatted by countermagic in most cases. Professional witches and shamans were the main actors. Furthermore, it seems that many such wrongs were indemnified, especially when it was expedient to maintain good relations between the contending families. It is also apparent that a young man who was considered to have wronged his lover could absolve his family from complicity, to a great extent, by fleeing the region and putting himself outside the range of his father's or lineage elder's authority. Today, this is possible only if one is willing to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of itinerant farm laborer or low-class city worker—outside the reservation system. Even in flight, however, one is not entirely free from sorcery.

More believable accounts of physical vengeance in cases of unrequited love, insofar as one such action was in progress on a reservation I studied in 1959, are those concerning thrashings received by lovers at the hands of incensed relatives of the wronged girl. This should not really be considered feud, since no one is killed and since there is no possible compromise such as payment—no way out short of marriage. There might be a series of fights between various males of the two families involved, but hostilities are not enduring. Furthermore, fighting most often takes place when the men are drunk and meet in public—at ceremonies, fiestas, in town, and so forth. There is no seeking out of a victim, no organized reprisal. Both parties have to be present when feelings are high.

There are several ways in which illicit love affairs may be handled. Three interesting examples follow. The first tells of an affair between members of different sublineages of a patrilineal group which was effectively brought to an end before complications could develop. The second involves an incestuous relationship which resulted in pregnancy. The third, a supernatural and nonfamilial attempt of an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her lover.

In the first example the young man and woman were cousins, members of the same localized lineage, although of different segments. Their parents were classificatory siblings. The important feature here is that of tacitly condoning sexual intercourse between members of the incest group when such activity seems certain not to be leading toward marriage. It is considered dangerous nevertheless, because of

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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the possibility of pregnancy. When the matter was finally called to the attention of the young man's mother, the affair was effectively terminated.

The families of the two individuals involved were close friends who visited each other often for the purpose of eating, drinking, singing, and dancing. There was also economic cooperation between them and a liberal exchange of food in the form of gifts. A little boy of one of the families worked for the other and performed household chores and tended the stock, for which he received food and a place to sleep.

On each occasion after an evening get-together at the house of the young man, the oldest daughter of the other family found some pretext for the young man to accompany her outside the house. He did not always respond. He denied that he did any more than walk her part of the way home, since her parents were usually too drunk to follow a direct route to their house. His brother laughed at these explanations and, in this context, his mother's obvious disapproval of the girl seemed based on her suspicion that the purpose of walking the girl home was amorous.

One evening when the young man did not walk the girl home, his brother teased him about it until they almost came to blows. In the argument, the young man said that he was not worried about having to marry her if she became pregnant, because any man for miles around could be accused of fathering her offspring, that she was like her mother in this respect. Since she was thought to be promiscuous, she was considered fair game. This reasoning put an end to a heated argument as far as the brothers were concerned, but it led to their mother's grumbling about the immorality of incest and the evil it would bring. It is unlikely that the mother had been oblivious of the relationship between the girl and her son, but having it called forcefully to her attention caused her to speak out against it in traditional terms. Her continual reference to the matter during subsequent days, especially at mealtime and to everyone's annoyance, seems to have had the results she desired. The young man did not tryst with the girl as far as I know, and she stopped accompanying her family to his house after the next two visits.

There are several important factors involved in this case. For one thing the mother's influence over her oldest son, a young man of about thirty who had been head of the household since his father died, comes into view. The issue of promiscuity is raised, and is sufficient

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to settle a very heated argument. Finally, there is a clash of opinion over the definition of incest. The old woman's view prohibits sexual relations between members of the same patrilineage, regardless of the exact degree of relationship. Opposition to marriage within these limits is general. But the young men, "like the Chileans," do not feel that lineality per se is as much a factor in defining incest as the degree of consanguineal relationship. In this case the young man and woman involved stood in the relationship of, respectively, father's father's brother's son's son and father's father's brother's son's daughter.

The second example involves an incestuous affair between a young man and his father's sister, a woman of about thirty-five years of age who was childless and a widow. The young man, Antemil, had gone to live with his aunt after her husband died, for she requested the young man's father to send one of his sons to work her fields and assist her in other ways. This arrangement lasted for several years, during which time Antemil and his aunt visited their natal reservation a few times each year.

Antemil's parents encouraged his aunt to be sure he did not get into trouble with any of the young girls on the other reservation, and were pleased to learn from her that Antemil secretly admired one of the daughters of a well-to-do household in the vicinity. There was a shortage of land in Antemil's family, which was quite willing for him to marry and live uxorilocally. He was noncommittal on the subject, but the aunt promised to watch over him and speak to the young woman's mother about the possibility of a match. The discussion continued each time Antemil and his aunt visited the boy's parents, but seems to have trailed off after a year or so. The possibility that Antemil would marry and live on a distant reservation was known by many people on his natal reservation. Some of them felt that "something must be wrong" because there was too much discussion and no marriage. While this is likely no more than hindsight, it shows that even though incest might have been suspected nothing was done to prevent it. The boy's father, however, maintained that he did not suspect anything wrong.

Finally, Antemil returned home and announced that his aunt was pregnant and that the people were blaming it on him. The aunt denied having incestuous relations, however. Antemil's father paid his sister a visit to determine the situation for himself and returned convinced that the two were guilty of incest. He had made an offer

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835 of terminal assistance to his sister, saying that he would be willing to give her money on which to live but that he could not stand the disgrace of having her in his house and would not see her again. By the time he returned home his son had left the household.

The woman could not abort her baby. When the child was eventually born, she neglected it until one day it toppled into the fire and was severely burned. She took the child to a neighbor's house and asked that it be cared for until she obtained salve for the burn in town. She never returned, and is said to have gone to Santiago.

Someone who was friendly with the woman's brother brought the child to him, asking that he do something about caring for it. The child had "no place." Its mother had made difficulty for her dead husband's family, who never entered directly into any phase of this negotiation and did not want the child.

At the time of my stay on the reservation, the child was living with his mother's brother's family. He was crippled from the burn inflicted by falling into the fire several years before. They had built a special stroller for him in order that he might have enough support to walk and strengthen his legs. He was considered one of his uncle's sons, the fiction being rationalized on the grounds that the child would suffer less shame in this way and would have "a place."

There was no idea of retribution connected with the child's injury and lameness. His mother was not reviled by her brother, who said that she had probably already suffered enough. But neither she nor the child's father would be allowed to return to the reservation to live, since the other residents and the chief would not permit it.

836 754 762 [848] [849] The third example is one of unrequited love, sorcery, and suicide. Through the practice of *koftun*, which consists of roasting an infant's testicles over a witch's fire, the lover can be made sterile. Unwed mothers sometimes avenge themselves in this way, rather than reveal their lover's name to their family. Such supernatural machinations are rarely resorted to today, however, without first attempting to abort. If early abortion is unsuccessful and the woman's feeling is sufficiently bitter, she will take the baby—which is often stillborn after the vigorous efforts to abort it—to a witch who performs *koftun*. [848] If the child is born alive, the mother might relent and discard her plans of supernatural vengeance on her lover. There are reports, though, of such children being killed by suffocation so that their testicles may be removed and *koftun* carried out.

In the case called to my attention the child was stillborn. The

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582 lineage. It is a more satisfactory term precisely because of its greater inclusiveness in implying the involvement of "classificatory" rather than "real" mother's brothers and their daughters. It connotes relationships between lineage groups, between men and women of one group qua group with men and women of a homologous group. It is used here in this latter sense.

Still, the term is not wholly satisfactory. Insofar as "matrilateral" is combined with "cousin," there tends to be too great a genealogical and generational overtone to the phrase. Furthermore, it suggests an all too rigid system in failing to cover marriages which are essentially matrilateral but not contracted with a female of the mother's lineage. More will be said of this later.

INCEST AND EXOGAMY

835 Araucanian ethnological literature contains references to incest relationships of all degrees. Clear distinctions between sexual intercourse on the one hand and contractual marriage on the other have not been made in consideration of incestuous relationships; or, if implied, not consistently. The allegation that the Mapuche committed all degrees of incest at their notorious drinking bouts seems an overstatement, at least as far as a high incidence is implied. The question of mother-son incest in connection with filial inheritance of wives appears to be a false issue resulting from a misunderstanding of the nature of such inheritance and, perhaps, of the classificatory kinship terminology and relationships in general.

In all fairness, the ease of dismissing early ethnographic reports simply on the grounds of inadequate data and now outmoded theoretical assumptions and research methods is here acknowledged. What matters is that incest is not today of the order described in the past (cf. Titiev, 1951:58n). Furthermore, mere sexual connection between individuals standing in a proscribed category should not be considered on the same level of sociological analysis as marriage.

582 When questioned about what constitutes incest, the Mapuche consistently phrase their answers in terms of "marriage with *close* relatives." Marriage with a lineage member is proscribed, these individuals being designated as *kiñeche* or *familia*, neither a very precise term. If pressed for examples, they usually state that marriage is forbidden between a man and his father's sister, father's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. It is recognized that father's sister's

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daughter is not a lineage member, but the kinship tie is considered too close for marriage to be proper. Furthermore, such a union would be inconsistent with the matrilateral "direction" marriage should take.

Actually, within a community, marriage could not take place between individuals in an incestuous category, so it is the *intention* to maintain sustained incestuous relationships which draws community censure. Therefore, incestuous relations which, because of their persistence, are brought to the attention of the community are considered serious enough to ban the individuals from that community. The partners of such alliances would be driven from the community if they did not desist; formerly they might have been killed at the discretion of the chief or lineage head. A clandestine affair brings strong censure if discovered, but not banishment or ostracism if it is terminated. Lineage elders do not precipitate social upheaval if they are able to restore the status quo.

The above information is generally freely offered by those informants who are most cooperative and who understand that the investigator is interested in obtaining the fullest possible answer to the question, "What is incest?" This seems a sufficient and general enough reply to most informants. It is only by continued questioning that some of the nuances of feeling are revealed and a fuller definition of incest attained.

There are father's brothers' wives and father's father's wives, mother's father's wives, mother's sisters, and mother's brothers' wives who are all considered too "close," ineligible for marriage. Also, a man does not marry his mother's sisters' daughters, his father's sisters' children's daughters, his father's brothers' children's daughters, or his mother's sisters' children's daughters. On the face of it, these data seem to isolate mother's brothers' daughters and mother's brothers' sons' daughters, which is expectable according to the preferred marriage rule stated in terms of marriage with mother's brother's daughter and/or wife's brother's daughter. A man does not contract patrilateral marriage; he either marries matrilaterally or entirely outside his cognatic group.

Certain paradoxes seem to be involved here. If the sororate and widow inheritance are combined with filial inheritance of wives, a man would fall heir to some "proscribed" women on the parental generation, for example mother's sister and father's brother's wife. The sororate and widow inheritance must have been more common

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581 relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and revali-
[585] dated during the several phases of the protracted marriage ritual.

582 Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed by considerations of morality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche rule which is not capble of being broken, if exogamy is considered at the level o marriage rather than with reference to
[834] pre- or extramarital affars. Even casual affairs take place with
[837] almost full observance o the exogamic rule. Breaches occasion-
684 ally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or
622 drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage
836 sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually, this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most cases are adolescents unware of the special bonds which place
• 835 them in a proscribed category. Any sexual connection between a
613 man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister, father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or, in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating like dogs."

613 While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent
582 complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably complete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers' sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matrilaterally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would